COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL PAMPHLET.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1817.

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THE LAST HUNDRED DAYS OF ENGLISH FREEDOM.

Ending with the Passing of the Absode-Power-of-Imprisonment Act, in the Month of March, 1817.

ADDRESSED TO

MR. JOHN GOLDSMITH, OF HAMBLE-DON, AND MR. RICHARD HINXMAN, OF CHILLING,

WHO WERE

The Chairman and Seconder at the Meeting of the People of Hampshire, on Portslown Hill, in the month of February, 1817, Petition for a Redress of Grievances, and for a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

LETTER VI.

Doctor Watson's Trial and Acquittal. Acquittal of the other State Prisoners. - The un-ravelling of the Plots. - The whole Scheme blown into the air . The mask pulled off . -The Boroughmongers left without the smallest disguise. - The real Men of Blood discovered .- Conclusion of the History of the Last Hundred Days of English Freedom.

> North Hampstead, Long Island. 15 August, 1817.

My WORTHY AND BELOVED FRIENDS, Often I have said that the Boroughnongers would find, if once they at-

people's blood, that "blood for blood" would become the motto of the people. Let the former remember this. Let them stop while yet there is time; or, let them not expect a tear of pity for them or for their children, in that day when even-handed justice shall give them back measure for measure, lacking not one single drop of what shall be their due. Our unhappy country is, it seems, according to the accounts of the bloody Boroughmonger newspapers, all in a state of commotion. What, then! the people do not remain quiet (for quiet they were before), after receiving loads of unmerited stripes! They most humbly prayed to be restored the enjoyment of their rights. The answers they received were the gag, and the threatened dungeon and halter! They met particularly, in the brave county of Lancaster, to remonstrate against these intended acts of injustice and cruelty. While they were met, and peaceably met for the legal purpose of petitioning, they were surrounded with soldiers, and, with the bayonet at their breast, like malefactors were dragged to a prison! And they do not like this; strange, perverse, stiff-necked race! They do not like treatment like this, while they pay one half of their earnings in taxes, and while they are liable to be called out to shed their blood in defence of those who thus treat them! Wicked people! To imagine that the treatempted to dip their hands in the ment of ordinary dogs is not far too

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good for them! Perverse people! To growl and snap when they are beaten without cause and without mercy; and beaten, too, by those who have not a tenth part of their own To diffusion But

understanding!

Upon the subject of these commotions, however, I shall hereafter have occasion to remark. At present, the PLOTS; the famous Plots are the subject of my attention. In this very letter, it was my intention to have shown how false all the pretences were with regard to the plots and conspiracies mentioned in the Reports of the two Houses of Parliament. The trial of Doctor WATSON, and the bringing forward of that precious gentleman, Mr. CASTLES, have prevented me from going here into any reasonings or speculations upon the subject. Mr. Castles, under the guidance of his judicious friend the Attorney General, SHEPHERD, has saved me a wonderful deal of trouble. He has proved; he has made matter of record; he has made materials for history, those facts, which, without his assistance and that of his worthy friend the Attorney General, SHEP-HERD, I should have been obliged to leave to the discretion and decision of my readers.

Mr. WETHERELL's defence of Doctor Warson was very able, and, perhaps, it was better calculated to produce an acquittal than a speech of better politics would have been, I, however, can never give my unqualified approbation of any speech which contains unqualified approbation of the present government and present ministry in England, Mr. Wetherell's speech and, there is want of taste as well as of judgment and sincerity in praising the Ministry to the skies, as the most pure and excellent of men, while, in the next breath, the Speech tells the Jury, that Castles stands before them, a most naked villain, a bare-faced, perjured wretch, and, that he is fed, clad, and paid by that same government and ministry; and

that the very clothing upon his back is a mere fore-taste of the blood money which he is to receive for bringing the devoted victims at the Bar to the gallows. I disagree will Mr. WETHERELL, too, in the abusiv at their epithets and terms which he applie to Mr. Castles; and I rather agre with the Attorney and Solicitor Ge neral, that we ought to look upon him not with an eye of so much severity He is, after all, a far less villain that a man who sells a seat in Parlia ment; a far less villain than a mar who bribes a Parliament to sell it country and itself too; and a farles villain than any of those who commi numerous murders under the guised law and justice, and who pretend to be actuated by motives of loyalty and love of the country and constitution There have been villains of this sor former times. There were th JEFFRIESES and the LAWS in the time of the STEWARTS. These blood monsters cut off men's ears, burnt the cheeks, split their noses, shut them u in dungeons for years, under pretend of their having been guilty of sedition And they did it too, lk libels. other villains of the same stamp under the pretence that what they di was necessary to the tranquillity the country and the safety of the throne! Those cruel villains, all having produced civil wars, and the destruction of both the Kings wh listened to them, had ample justice ort, the visited upon their own guilty head eny his and which justice was inflicted, to by the hands of those brave and rest n order lute Englishmen, whose descenden ecause, we are. The base and cruel villain nonev. used a great deal of cant; pretende hing in A to a great deal of impartiality; whe ng that wrapped up in their ermine and a y eyes, the while they were trying to get the hany oth victim safe into their claws, the hem to purred like Pussy! But, the mome nem so. the victim came safely within the p and reach of their discretion, his bons began to crack under their teeth, h ext day blood to issue from the corners of the ews-par mouths; like Pussy, they growled an entleme

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back swore and revelled in the enjoyment of their savage fury! In their approaches, soft goes their pat upon the the floor; meekly, and, as it were, half-with seleep, they peep through their fur usive at their prey; like Pussy, sitting beplie fore the hole, they sometimes purrage and sometimes seem to sleep. But, Ge the moment the Jury has let the poor him house go into their claws, they are all enty activity, all boldness, up goes the corthat her of the robe, like the cat's tail, and arlia he wretched victim, has no more hance of mercy than if he were in the ands of the persecutor of Job.

Such were the villains of Judges, the lived in the time of the STEW-RTS, when that famous Judge Holt, f whom they talk so much now, was Barrister, and who had the baseiess, after he had received his fee, to lesert his client, Mr. PRYNNE. These men were infinitely worse than Mr. lastles; for they pretended to be mided in their conduct by a desire to fromote the interests of loyalty, moality and religion, whereas, honest Mr. Castles has no pretence of this ort. He is a villain; but he is a illain without a mask. Like a Bowghmonger, he cares nothing about ey dishedding blood; but then he does not, lity contains blood; but then he lity contains blood; but then he prevent blood from being shed.

after his trade is blood, human blood, and hat was known by the Boroughmons where long and long ago, to be sure.

But, then, he is not base enough to head the lay his trade. He comes manfully have and says that he wants blood, l, to broad and says that he wants blood, a order that he may have money; nden because, without blood, he cannot have sillain toney. There is, therefore, sometends high Mr. Castles's mode of proceeday whe again Mr. Castles's mode of proceeday when any others, whom, though we know hem to be villains, we dare not call him so. If a house-breaker be taken in the and examined at Bow-street, he p and examined at Bow-street, he upon that bare examination, the ext day, called a villain, in all the ews-papers. But these news-paper entlemen are very cautious how

they give this appellation to any one who has power at his command or pounds in his pocket. This conduct has always been regarded by me as being extremely base; and, so far from imitating the conduct of Mr. Wetherell in this particular, I shall treat Mr. Castles with the greatest degree of politeness, and shall call him the honourable Mr. Castles, or the "honourable gentleman," which appears to me to be really his due. Occasionally he may be called the loyal Mr. Castles; for, when the Devil comes to cast up his account, neither the DUKE OF MONTROSE nor LORD Somebody MURRAY, who told the story about the bullets, will have a greater stock of loyalty to plead. These men differ in some respects, from the honourable Mr. Castles, but nobody will pretend that they ever went farther than he in the unravelling of Plots. They, indeed, have not, as far as the world knows, at any rate, the fiftieth part of the merit of this " Honourable Gentleman;" for he not only discovered plots, but assisted in hatching of them; which nobody has pretended to prove with regard to any persons connected with the Ministry or the Boroughmongers; that is to say, persons other than Mr. Castles himself, who, it must now be manifest to the whole world, was the agent in the hands of the agents of the Boroughmongers, to produce a pretended insurrection.

For the reasons just stated, we will treat Mr. Castles with the same politeness in point of appellation, as we, do others whom we detest, but of whom we dare not speak in the manner that justice would authorize. There are many appellations, either of which he would very well merit; but, as being the most in vogue, we will give him the appellation of " honourable gentleman." Whether we shall ever see him upon that list of sinecures, pensions and grants, where we already find the names of Dun-DASS, BURKE, STEELE, JOSEPH HUNT, CANNING, WM. GIFFORD, SOUTHEY,

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all the Roses and many others, which I need not now name; whether we shall ever find Mr. Castles's name upon this list, will depend, probably, more upon events than upon the wishes or intentions of Mr. Castles's friends. It is not quite impossible that Mr. Castles may, for a short time, at any rate, have a seat in an assembly much more respectable, in all outward appearances, at least, than the assemblies at MOTHER TONGUE's, or those of thieves and house-breakers in Smockalley and Petticoat-lane. I do not say, that, at bottom, Mr. Castles will have changed his society for the better; but, at any rate, if one must keep late hours and bad company, one would rather be with robbers that are not lousy than with robbers that are lousy, though one may be very well convinced at the same time, that the former deserve hanging much more than the latter.

Having thus premised, let us now, my friends, proceed to take a view of the London Plots as they now stand unravelled. And, if such a scene of infamy; if a scene of so much baseness, ever was witnessed before, I beg to know from Beckett or Gifford or Southey, when and where it was that the world witnessed such a scene.

In order that we may see the whole thing in its true light; in order that we may be sure that the insurrection in London was hatched by the Boroughmongers and their tools; in order that we may be sure of this, we must not suffer Mr. Castles's evidence to stand alone. That "honourable gentleman," indeed, almost positively swears to the fact. Dow-LING positively swears that he was employed, before the Meeting took place, to go and take down the words. But, we must go back, now, and trace the minds of the Boroughmongers through their press, and through some other symptoms, until we come to the interesting sequel; the interesting unravelling of the Plot, which has been so kindly given to the world by the "honourable" Mr. Castles

and Mr. Dowling, and through the assistance and instrumentality of that judicious gentleman Mr. SHEPHERD. the Attorney General, who found out that my son owed 80 thousand pounds Mr. to the Stamp-Office. THERELL's object was to triumph over the Attorney General as a lawyer. which he fairly did; but Mr. WE. THERELL took special care to keep his peace with the Ministry; and, indeed, he seems, upon this occasion, to have availed himself of the opportunity of convincing the Ministry and the Boroughmongers that he was a man that was worth something, which, I dare say, they will perceive, and will, I have no doubt, very soon discover the sure way of having the full benefit of his talents. He is a member of parliament already, in right of his own purse; he has voted for the renewal of the absolute-power-of-imprisonment Bill; and, if things go on in the present way, he may, very probably, be Attorney General himself, if not something higher.

From such a person we could not expect such an exposure of the plotter as truth and public good demanded It was his affair to trace back the thing no farther than was required in order to fight his rival the Attorney He, therefore, told the General. jury, that the change of the charge from Misdemeanour to High Treaset took place in consequence of Mr. Car tles's coming forward. But, as we shall presently see, it took place !! consequence of the recently-formed resolution to pass the gagging Bills and which resolution was not formed at the time when the charge of Mis demeanour was brought forward.

We must go into the matter from the beginning, and trace the plot regularly all through from the apprehensions of the Boroughmongers; from their alarm at the progress of the principles of Reform; and we shall find the whole hang together as completely as the links of any chain that ever was forged. In the former part of this history; we have seen, that, so

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early as the month of October, the Boroughmongers had taken the alarm, and had begun to sound that alarm by the means of their corrupt and hired press. When the Two-penny Register made its appearance, they clearly perceived, that the days of deception were passed, or, at least, that they speedily would be passed for ever, unless a belief could be created amongst the foolish, the timid and the selfish. hat the Reformers aimed at a French Revolution, the horrors of which, a million-fold magnified, were still torking in the mirds of the nation. But, to create such a belief as this was noeasy matter, seeing that the very publication, of which the Boroughmongers most complained, inculcated a peaceable and orderly conduct; and, what is more, really produced such conduct on the part of the people all over the kingdom. Moreover, and which was a thing truly wonderful, his publication, at the same time that it arged the people on to demand Reform, actually put an end to a course of unlawful violences, which were before taking place in numerous parts of the country.

These facts, so striking in themtelves and so honourable to the minds of the people and to the cause of Reform, reduced the Boroughmoners almost to despair. They saw no ope of riots. The Bakers, Butchers, and other dealers in the necessaries of le, were no longer annoyed by senseess attacks. The Boroughmongers fould complain of no violences. They, berefore, from that very moment, egan to think of batching plots, in order to serve as a pretence for resting the petitions for Reform, not yargument, but by force of arms. twas in the month of October, that e Courier and the Times, both in from he pay of the Boroughmongers, egan to pave the way for these plats. he former of these papers had these ords: "There is ONE POINT, to which we wish particularly to call the public attention. Much praise is given to the Meetings for their

" peaceable conduct. Why peaceable? "Because they know that tumult

"would defeat their real as well as "their pretended object. Peace!

"They would keep peace for a time, " till the crists is ripe for explosion.

" Like the Sportsman, they would

" advance with silent step, and crouching, fawning curs, 'till they are se-

" cure of killing their game."

The impudence and baseness of this must be manifest to every man. I quoted the paragraph and noticed it in my Register of the 9th of last No-From this moment forward vember. attempts were constantly making by the Boroughmongers to excite false alarms; but the people had by this time discovered, that they had been ruined by the false alarms of Pitt and Dundas and of the Fitzwilliams and the Bentincks and the Spencers. This new attempt to excite false alarms was like an attempt to pluck a pigeon a second time, before his feathers were come again. The undertaking appeared to be wholly hopeless. At last a most desperate expedient was resorted to. Written handbills were said to have been put under the doors of public houses, calling upon the people to take up arms against the tyranny, and calling upon them also to chop off the head of Castlereagh and to destroy the kingly government. These handbills were so perfectly ridiculous considered with regard to any real design of a revolutionary sort, that it was impossible to believe them to have proceeded from real conspirators against the state; but, when we saw them blazoned forth in the Cou-RIER and the Times, it was very evident to me, that they had originated with the Boroughmongers and with their immediate agents.

The desperateness of the Boroughmongering crew may be easily gathered from their resorting to this expedient; but, soon after this, the first Meeting in Spafields came fortunately to their assistance. This was a Meeting, called by Dr. Watson, Mr. Preston and others, of the distressed persons in and about London, and the professed object of the Meeting to petition the Prince Regent for a redress of grievances, and for relief. The advertisement, calling this meeting, was signed by Dyall, as Chairman of a Committee. It was now that Mr. HUNT came upon the stage; and of the causes of his so coming I will here state the particulars. Mr. PRESTON, who was the Secretary to the Committee, wrote a letter to Mr. HUNT, calling upon him to come to the assistance of his distressed countrymen, and to be present at the intended meeting in Spafields. Upon receiving this letter Mr. HUNT went over to Botley to me, to ask me what I thought he had better do. My answer was, that, seeing that it was a body of his countrymen in distress that called upon him, it was useless for me to say, that he ought to go, for that I knew he would go. But, I observed to him, that it was necessary for him to bear in mind, how desperate the Boroughmongers were becoming, and that it behoved him, for the sake of the cause of Reform as well as for the sake of his own life, to be constantly on his guard against spies and informers; for that I was certain, that a trap would be laid to destroy him. He was of my opinion, and, as the invitation came from those persons who were called "Spenceans," I observed, that it would be his duty to take great care, not to suffer, in his person, or by the means of his concurrence, the cause of Reform to be mixed up with what was called the Spencean Project, and which project, by a little twisting and misrepresentation, might be made to mean a gene. ralconfiscation of real property, though it really meant no such thing, as was evident from Mr. Evans's pamphlet, which I then had lying upon the table. Mr. Hunt saw the danger of his appearing and giving his countenance to any petition proceeding upon the Speacean principles; and he, therefore, resulved, not to join, directly or indirectly in any such petition. The

Meeting took place. A Memorial, as

the Watsons and others, to be mored at the Meeting. But, it is one thing to draw up a paper in a room, and another to have the ability to cause it to be received and passed by a Meeting of numerous persons promiscuous. It met. When, therefore, they came to the field, Mr. Hunt found little difficulty in setting aside the Memorial and in proposing and causing to be passed a Petition to the Prince, respectfully worded, on the subject of Reform and of the sufferings of the people.

While this was going on in Spafields the Boroughmonger press was actually at work, preparing the way to take the life of Mr. HUNT. The Courier, which is published about noon, stated, that its Reporter had just left the meeting, and had just heard HUNT move a Memorial of a very treasonable nature, of which it then actually inserted a passage! This fact is proof positive of a dark and infamous plot against Mr. Hunr's life. But, how came the Courier to say this, when the wretched proprietor when the corrupt, sanguinary proprietor of that paper, must have known that he would have been contradicted in a few hours? No; he did not know it! And how this agent of the plot ting came to be deceived you shall now hear the interesting account.

DYALL, the man who had signed the advertisement for the meeting, had long before the meeting took place been sent for by John Gifford, the Police Magistrate, and had shown the Memorial to Gifford, who had imme diately transmitted a copy of it to Lord Sidmouth. Who furnished the infamous slanderer, the Courier, with a copy of it, I leave you to guess But, a copy of it he had; and, there fore, he stated in his paper, which wa printed about the middle of the day that Mr. Hunr had just moved the Memorial, and that it contained the treasonable passage which he insert and read their project in ! bo

Look, now, at this series of facts

First th it is sta HUNT I DYALL able M lodged pext th copy 9 never a going t next, th acopy the hor HUNT trap, tl corrupt monger allover treason states t Mr. Hu for the of that bounds when th appoint thing m transac possible piece o nished ; ble, the hateful I beg

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First the advertisement appears; next it is stated in the newspapers that Mr. HUNT is coming to the Meeting; next DYALL is sent for, and " the treasonable Memorial" is copied and the copy lodged with the Secretary of State; next the Secretary of State keeps the copy quietly in his possession, and never apprizes Mr. HUNT that he is going to be led to commit treason; next, the Courier stands ready with a copy in his possession; next, about the hour that he supposes that Mr. Hunt has fallen completely into the trap, the Courier, the agent of the corrupt and bloody-minded Boroughmongers, puts into print and sends off all over the country, what he calls a treasonable passage of the Memorial, states that this has just been moved by Mr. Hunt, and thus paves the way for the arrest and the probable death of that gentleman. How the bloodbounds must have hung their tails, when they found that they were disappointed! Can you conceive any thing more base than the whole of this transaction? If one could believe it possible, that the agents in this dark piece of villainy are to escape unpunished; if one could believe this possible, the light of day would become mateful to one's sight.

beg you to remark, that it is treain any one not to prevent the commission of a treason, if he has the power of doing it; and yet no effort was made to prevent Mr. Hunt from committing what was called treason, and what would have been endeavoured to be made treason, too, if he had not been too discreet to commit it. Remark also, that what was treason, when it was thought to have come from his lips, was no treason in Dyall, who had it in his possession in a writen document. No; it was not Dyall, those blood was wanted by the Cou-MER and the Boroughmongers. was Mr. Hunt whom they wanted to acrifice. They knew very well all about the Spenceans long before. They had read their project in Mr. Evans's Pamphlet, which had been

sent to every Minister, and to every well-known public character years before; and this project of " a common partnership in the land" was now conjured up to be hitched on upon the cause of Reform, in order that both might be destroyed together. It was false to accuse the Spenceans, even the Spenceans, with a project of confiscu-They entitled their scheme " Christian Policy;" and they proceeded upon the principle, which the Apostle laid down for the guidance of the primitive Christians in their temporal affairs. They told their disciples, as the Apostle told his disciples, that they ought to enjoy " all things in common." But, look at the pamphlet of Mr. Evans, who was the great Apostle of the Sect, and, if you find one single word in that pamphlet, which would lead you to believe that Mr. Evans wished for confiscation of any sort; or that he wished to destroy any of the establishments of the country, then I give you leave to regard me as being upon a level with such a man as Shepherd the Attorney General. Therefore, even the Spenceans have been grossly and basely calumniated. But, when we know that their project has been on foot for so many years; when we know that the publication of their project has been struggling for public attention in all sorts of ways; when we know that the well-meaning, though wild-thinking leaders of the Sect have actually been urging every Minister for years past to adopt their plan; when we know that it was formally proposed, too, and treated only with ridicule by that vixen, PERCEVAL, who was ready to bite at every thing that came within the reach of his power; when we know that the plan has been advertized by writings upon the walls of London and ten miles round London, for, at least, seven or eight years past; when we know all this, who can be fool enough not to perceive, that the only reason for conjuring the thing up at this time, was, to couple it with the cause of Reform, and, by that means

cation and revolution? The Spenceans had not changed their Plan. Their Plan continued to be what it was ten years before; and, therefore, it is clear that it was now conjured up by the Boroughmongers in order to vilify that cause of the country, which had been maintained by arguments, which neither those Boroughmongers nor their tools had been able to answer.

to answer. The sequel of the first Spa Fields Meeting was conducted by Mr. HUNT with the utmost prudence and propriety. Sir Francis Burdett declined to comply with the request of the Meeting, which was, that he should present their Petition to the Regent; but, there was this added to it, that he should be accompanied by Mr. HUNT. He refused to present the Petition, though I will venture to assert that he has engaged to present many Petitions much more strong in point of language, and far more offensive in point of sentiment, than this Petition; and I will forther venture to assert, that he never in his whole life-time presented a Petition, either to the Parliament or to the Throne, couched in more correct, more dignified and more respectful language than this Petition. Nay, I will venture to assert, that this Petition was a better drawn Petition; more correct in its statements; more consequent in its reasonings; more judicious in its topics; and more logical and more forcible in its conclusions, than any Petition he ever presented in his life. Where, then, are we to look for the real cause of his refusal to present this Petition? Why, where we are to seek for the cause of his never having, even to this day, presented the Petition to the Prince from his own Constituents, which he was to have presented according to their resolution, "accompanied by Lord Coch-" rane." This Petition had been agreed to at a very numerous Meeting in Palace Yard; its main subject was the corruption of the House of Com-

mons; it had been agreed to many months before I left England; and though many, many Levees had been held before that time, he had never been there to present that Petition, though he had been there for other purposes or for no purposes at all. Mr. Hunt may probably think it his duty to make public the grounds of Sir Francis's refusal upon the occasion above spoken of. For my part, [must content myself with the facts and with the conclusions, to which those facts naturally lead. At the Viceting in Spa Fields, Mr. Waddington ob. served, in speaking of the absence of Sir Francis Burdett, that "this wasnot " a time for a man like Sir Francis to " be nursing a boy that had tumbled " out of a gig." But, no countenance was given to this by Mr. Hunt; and there appeared to the public, at any rate, no good reason whatever for declining to present this Petition.

This refusal, however, had very considerable weight in producing the subsequent events. The Boroughmonger news-papers, who knew very well what interpretation to give to this refusal, took special care to avail themselves of the occurrence. They took care to inform the public, that his son was so far recovered as to be able to vide out; that Sir Francis had gone to Hastings, where he was living in a house of GENERAL HULSE (a known creature of the court); and that Sir Francis himself, though he could not leave his son to come to the Meeting in Spa Fields, could leave him to go out a fox-hunting. In short, this refusal greatly encouraged the Boroughmongers; because they regarded it, and very justly, as a symptom that the Reformers would, when the pinch came, be abandoned by the man, whom they regarded as their chief, if not their only supporter in Parliament.

Nevertheless, undaunted by this refusal, Mr. Hunt proceeded to present the Petition himself. And proceeded, according to the very letter of his promise, to Carlton House. He was there received with the greatest alter-

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It was impossible for any gentleman in England to have conducted this matter with greater decorum than it was conducted by Mr. Hunt. But, now, observe, that it was clear from all these cirumstances, that the Ministers must have had it completely in their power to prevent any thing resembling a commotion on the 2nd of December, when the next Meeting was held. They were perfectly well informed, even by Mr. Hunt himself, of the silly, inflammatory stuff, that was working in the minds of the Spencean enthusiasts. They had, besides, the proof of all this in DYALL's memorial. Was it, then, an act becoming a gentleman; was it an act becoming a friend of peace; was it an act becoming a Minister of the Crown, to keep silence as Lord Sidmouth did upon this occasion, and not to utter one word to Mr. Hunt in order to put him upon his guard; but, rather, to encourage him to hold the second Meeting, without putting him upon his guard at all?

All these facts were explicitly alledged in the Petition of Mr. Hunt to both Houses of Parliament, and, how completely did that Petition apset the main conclusion of the Reports from the Secret Committees! Though Sir Francis Burdet thought proper to sit in silence, while this Petition lay on the table of the House of Commons,

my Lord Holland, who presented it to the House of Lords, made that use of it, which became a sincere and honourable man. "Here," said his Lordship, " is a Petitioner, who of-" fers to prove at your Lordship's Bar that the Secretary of State was "duly apprized of all the circum-" stances which led to the insurrec-"tion of the second of December, and that he used no endeavours " whatever to prevent that Meeting, " but rather encouraged it." And, then he challenged Lord Sidmouth to contradict the statements of the Petition if he could, and not a word did Lord Sidmouth say in answer to this charge. What could be more cogent than this? Ought not the House to have hesitated? Not one moment did they hesitate; but, on the contrary, they hurried on the more to pass the Bills, and to put every man's person within the reach of their langs.

If the Ministers had been desirous to prevent a commotion being produced by the wild and enthusiastic men whom they acknowledged Mr. Hunt to have prevented from working up a thoughtless multitude to desperate deeds; if they had been really desirous of preventing such a result of the Meeting of the second of December, would it have been too great a condescension in my Lord Sidmouth to have advised Mr. Hunt to be cautious. and to have warned him of the danger? His Lordship can, it seems. condescend to hold conferences with infamous spies; this is not beneath his Lordship. Therefore, it was not any sense of dignity (it would have been false dignity, I allow,) that prevented him from free communication with Mr. Hunt, who, he must have been very sure, could wish for nothing so earnestly as to cause peace and tranquillity to prevail, while he was engaged in the prosecution of his object of Reform, and while he was also engaged, as without any crime he might, in advancing his own popularity, But, instead of this line of to impute to the latter views of confiscation and revolution? The Spenceans had not changed their Plan. Their Plan continued to be what it was ten years before; and, therefore, it is clear that it was now conjured up by the Boroughmongers in order to vilify that cause of the country, which had been maintained by arguments, which neither those Boroughmongers nor their tools had been able to answer.

The sequel of the first Spa Fields Meeting was conducted by Mr. HUNT with the utmost prudence and propriety. Sir Francis Burdett declined to comply with the request of the Meeting, which was, that he should present their Petition to the Regent; but, there was this added to it, that he should be accompanied by Mr. HUNT. He refused to present the Petition, though I will venture to assert that he has engaged to present many Petitions much more strong in point of language, and far more offensive in point of sentiment, than this Petition; and I will forther venture to assert, that he never in his whole life-time presented a Petition, either to the Parliament or to the Throne, couched in more correct, more dignified and more respectful language than this Petition. Nay, I will venture to assert, that this Petition was a better drawn Petition; more correct in its statements; more coasequent in its reasonings; more judicious in its topics; and more logical and more forcible in its conclusions, than any Petition he ever presented in his life. Where, then, are we to look for the real cause of his retusal to present this Petition? Why, where we are to seek for the cause of his never having, even to this day, presented the Petition to the Prince from his own Constituents, which he was to have presented according to their resolution, "accompanied by Lord Coch-" rane." This Petition had been agreed to at a very numerous Meeting in Palace Yard; its main subject was the corruption of the House of Com- there received with the greatest atten-

mons; it had been agreed to many months before I left England; and though many, many Levees had been held before that time, he had never been there to present that Petition, though he had been there for other purposes or for no purposes at all. Mr. Hunt may probably think it his duty to make public the grounds of Si Francis's refusal upon the occasion above spoken of. For my part, [must content myself with the facts and with the conclusions, to which those facts naturally lead. At the Meeting in Spa Fields, Mr. Waddington ob. served, in speaking of the absence of Sir Francis Burdett, that "this wasnot " a time for a man like Sir Francis to "be nursing a boy that had tumbled " out of a gig." But, no countenance was given to this by Mr. Hunt; and there appeared to the public, at any rate, no good reason whatever for declining to present this Petition.

This refusal, however, had very considerable weight in producing the subsequent events. The Boroughmonger news-papers, who knew very well what interpretation to give to this refusal, took special care to avail themselves of the occurrence. They took care to inform the public, that his son was so far recovered as to be able to ride out; that Sir Francis had gone to Hastings, where he was living in a house of GENERAL HULSE (a known creature of the court); and that Sit Francis himself, though he could not leave his son to come to the Meeting in Spa Fields, could leave him to go out a fox-hunting. In short, this refusal greatly encouraged the Borough mongers; because they regarded it, and very justly, as a symptom that the Reformers would, when the pinch came, be abandoned by the man, whom they regarded as their chief, if no their only supporter in Parliament.

Nevertheless, undaunted by this refusal, Mr. Hunt proceeded to present the Petition himself. And proceeded, according to the very letter of his promise, to Carlton House. He was tion : the S prop he W who the P ther calui news VIBCE the . deal his p with he ha

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conduct; instead of putting Mr. 1 Hunt upon his guard against those schemes of a set of wild men which were well known to the Home Office, the Home Office set itself to work to get in readiness Magistrates and Police officers to surround Mr. Hunt at the Meeting, and a short-hand writer to take down his words. This last is a very material circumstance indeed. VINCENT GEORGE DOWLING, who was brought forward upon the trial with his notes, confessed that he was engaged by Mr. Gurney's clerk, who was there as a short-hand writer, also, to assist him in taking a note of the speeches in the Field; and he further confessed that when he had transcribed his note of what passed, he gave it to Mr. Beckett, one of the under Secretaries of State. The cross-examination of this man was stopped by the Judges so as to prevent him from disclosing what passed between this witness and the officers of the government. However, he disclosed enough, for he confessed that he had said that he expected to be paid by the Govern. ment, not only for his notes as a short-hand writer, but for other trouble he had had in the business. And Samuel Steer swore upon the trial, that Downing had told him that this introduction to the Home Office " was likely to lead to employ-" ment for himself and his brothers, " which might amount to three hun-" dred pounds a year." This was a disclosure that answered all purposes; for, it completely proved that the anxiety of the Ministers was not to prevent seditious words and actions, and riotous proceedings, but that their object was to obtain colourable grounds for bringing accusations against the Reformers in general; and against Mr. Hunt in particular. So that, if the Committee of the House of Lords had said in their Report, not that the conspirators in Spa-fields had been defeated in their object in November, but were prepared for success on the second of December; if they had not said this, and had said,

that the Boroughmongers, having missed their mark in November, had made preparations for hitting it on the second of December, that Report would so far have been perfectly correct.

But here again their scheme was marred, and the blows, which they intended principally for Mr. Hunt, have finally fallen upon their own heads. The Honourable Mr. Castles and Dow. ling have done the Boroughmongers, the Spenceans, and Mr. Hunt, and even young Watson, ample justice. We see Dowling prepared with his book of notes, dogging the rioters from place to place, and we hear him confess, and we see it proved by another witness, that he expected ample remuneration for his trouble, not only for himself, but for his brothers, a remuneration to come out of the sweat of the people. We see the "honourable Mr." Castles exciting a senseless and thoughtless rabble to acts of fury. It was he, the "honourable gentleman," who met Mr. Hunt in Cheapside, and told him to turn about and go with them, for that the Tower was in their hands. This fact Mr. Hunt declared upon his oath at the trial; and I am ready to declare upon my oath, that Mr. Hunt told me the same thing on the third of December. He did not then know the name of Castles; but his words were, "that it was "a damn'd scoundrel who had been "guilty of conveying French prisoners "out of the country." After this, Mr. Hunt repeated the same story in the presence of my son William; and we all agreed that there could be no doubt, that the chief instigators of this riot had been employed for the express purpose of obtaining the grounds for taking away his life; and, with the facts which have now come to light, I believe, that there is not an unprejudiced man in England or in America, who will not come to the same conclusion. To strike him down was a great object with the Boroughmongers. His talents are not of that sort which are calculated for sowing the seeds of con-

calculated for the time of the harrest. He has no pretensions to any thing further than great presence of mind in difficult and perilous circumstances; undaunted personal courage; and a perseverance that no discouragement can check. He commits errors enough, he is frequently carried away by his ardour, and is by no means deficient in point of ambition and self-sufficiency. But, who is the man to say that he is without spot or blemish; and that there is nothing in him that might not be mended? There is no such man, who has any virtue or any energy in him; and if he has neither, he is of no more importance than a log. I have never been able to discover any base selfish motive in Mr. Hunt. I know that as to overt acts, he has shewn more zeal in the cause of the country than any man I ever met with, Major Cartwright excepted. Nor, should the public listen at all, to those base tools of the Boroughmongers who have so large a portion of the press at their command, with regard to the talents of Mr. HUNT. believe that, upon five or six different occasions, he has pleaded his own cause, in civil matters, or matters of trespass, and that in all these he has been triumphant. Twice before Mr. Baron Graham, he not only triumphed, but the lawyers were reproved by the Judge for attempting to act foully against him. In one case, though the evidence produced in an action of trespass against him, under the game-laws, led to a verdict against inm, the Judge refused to certify upon the back of the record, so fully convinced was he by the speech and by the evidence produced by the defendant, that the action, and not the trespass, was malicious. These are facts, which are more than sufficient to answer all that the hirelings of the Bofoughmongers have written about Mr. that's want of talents. Still, howwer, his main talent is wonderful quickness and presence of mind in difficult and dangerous circumstances. They were preparing their para-

viction in the mind. But admirably After the last election at Bristol, where Sir Samuel Romilly was a candidate against him, the latter gentleman in a speech publicly made, sought an occasion for declaring, that, through the whole of that boisterous contest, Mr. Hunt had conducted himself in every respect as became a gentleman and a man of honour. At that contest Mr. Hunt had no lawyer; and those who witnessed the quickness and ability with which he managed the law part of the election, were utterly astonished.

> I mention these particulars in order to shew that Mr. Hunt was a man worth the powder and shot of the Boroughmongers. They knew all about him; for they know all about every body, either through their taxgatherers, their post-office or their spies; and the Second of December was, I really believe, destined to be the last day of his liberty. Wetherell said, during his speech, that he made no doubt that Castles meant to have taken the life of Mr. Hunt, who, he said, had providentially escaped the trap; and, so fully was I convinced of this before I left England, that I told Mr. BRYANT, "Hunt owes his life to your hap-" pening to dine with him at the "Bouverie Street Hotel, and to his "own prudence in going to WAN-". TEAD on the First of December, "instead of remaining in town."

> I might here close my observations upon the origin and progress of this conspiracy against the liberties of the country. But, the infamous Boroughmonger Press, particularly the atrocious and sanguinary wretches, who own the Times, the Courier and the Sun, must never be forgotten. While "the Honourable Mr." Castles was at work organising the riot; while GREEN. Mr. GURNEY's clerk, and his associate, Mr. Dowling, were stitching their note-books together and sharpening their pencils as butchers shar pen their knives, the conspirators of the press were not idle.

graphs, which were to confirm, or, at least, corroborate the testimony of the former. The Courier, who had acted so infamous a part, with regard to the first Meeting, had now his paragraphs ready to send all over the country charging Mr. Hunt with being the cause of the riot. The Times stated distinctly, that, on the Sunday previous to the riot, Mr. Hunt and myself were in consultation at the King's Bench with my. Lord Cochrane; though I never say Mr. Hunt during the whole of that day, and though he spent the whole of that day in Essex, and I spent the whole of that day at Peck-The Sun newspaper ham in Surrey. asserted, that I had come up from Botley expressly to assist in organising the insurrection, and that the moment it was over, I drove off home Though I had been in London from an early part of the month of November, and though I never left it, except to go to Peckam and back again, until the middle of the month of February after. But, these atrocious miscreants, knew well that we should stand no chance against them in any appeal to the law; and, besides, they made so sure of their prey, that they had not the least idea of any danger to themselves from any thing that they might do against us.

I beg you to turn back to my Register of the 14th of December last, which consists of a Letter addressed to Mr. Hunt upon the subject of the Plots. You will there see what I them said of the danger he was in from false-swearing; and how anxious I was to impress upon his mind, that these newspaper people were the most base and bloody of the tools of the Boroughmongers. One paragraph of that Letter I cannot help inserting here. After stating what I have above stated as to the conduct of the Cov-RIER, the TIMES and the SUN, I thus warn him of his danger.

"You, conscious of your honour"able motives, and listening only to
"your courage, have always been
deaf to the intreaties of those who

" cautioned you against the danger of spies and false-witnesses. But, do you think, that the wretches who " cou'd be base enough to publish . falsehoods such as I have caume. " rated above: who could coolly represent you as having been sent first to jail and then to Bedlam; and " who, in order to deter me from my " duty, could exhibit my so as being " in danger of his life, and thereby cause alarm in his mother and sis. " ters: do you think that men so lost to all sense of shame, and so de. " voted to every thing that is corrupt; " do you think they would hesitate " one moment to bribe villains to " swear falsely against you or against me or against any man, whom they " thought it their interest to destroy? Nay, do you think, that they would " hesitate one single half moment to be guilty, for such a purpose, of the blackest perjury themselves? Be you assured, that there is nothing of which such men are not capa-" ble; intimidation, promises, bribes, perjury, any thing such men are capable of recommending to others, or of doing themselves. country life, your sober habits, your dislike of feastings and ca-" rousings; these are great secu-" rities; but, while you follow the " impulses of your public spirit and your valour, I hope you will always bear in mind, that there are such things as false-swearing " in the world, and that a defeated " coward has never been known tobe otherwise than inexorably cruel. "The proprietor of the Morning " Post, in his Paper of last Monday, " says, thar Cobbett and Hunt ought at least to lose their lives; and the author of the Antigallican " has, I am told, put the drawing of a " gallows in his Paper, with a rope " ready for use, having my name on " it, or very near it .- And, you may " be well assured, that, if the false " oaths of these men could do the " job, those oaths would be very

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" though I am quite sure, that these menaces will not deter you from a doing any thing, which you would " have done if the menaces had never " been made; yet, as being proofs of " the shameless, the remorseless, the " desperate villainy of these tools, " their present conduct ought to imf press on your mind the necessity of "being on your guard, so far, at a least, as not unnecessarily to expose " yourself to the consequences of " false-swearing. These men and their "associates call the younger Mr. "Warson (whom they, without " proof, charge with shooting Mr. " PLATT) an assassin, though they " themselves state, that the shot arose " from the seizure of Watson by Platt, " and that the former, like a wild en-"thusiast as he appears to have been, expressed his sorrow on the instant, and actually went to work to save the life of the wounded man. No-"body justifies, or attempts to jus-" tify, the shooter; but, if he were an " assassin, what are these men who, while they keep their names hidden, are endeavouring to produce persecution and ruin and death in every direction? The man who shot " Mr. PLATT, though highly criminal, is not a thousandth part so criminal as these men, who to premeditated bloody-mindedness add a degree of cowardice such as was never before " heard of."

I was very certain that the riot had been caused by the Boroughmongers, and that Mr. Hant's prudence, joined to my advice, had defeated their grand object. I remember well, and he will remember too, that when he came up from the country to go to the second Spa Fields Meeting, I took infinite gains to convince him of the existence of a conspiracy against his life; and he will remember my concluding his fists and swore, that a man had scut at the opening of the Waterloo

dear on the intreaties of those who is much at our service. Therefore,

better be hanged at once than to live such a life. However, I luckily prevailed upon him to go into the country, and to drive directly from the country to the Meeting in Spa Fields; and now, I believe, the whole nation will be convinced, as he long ago has been, that this advice and this alone has saved him and all the unfortunate men, who have lately been put upon their trial, from the fangs of the bloodhounds of the Boroughmongers.

No more need be said upon the subject of this conspiracy of the Boroughmongers against the liberties of the nation. They have at last resorted to open undisguised force; they have thrown off the mask, or rather, we have pulled it off from them; they have now found, that Juries will not lend them their assistance; and they must set Juries wholly aside, and trust simply to the sword, or, they must give us our rights, and particularly our right of choosing our Representatives in Parliament. their spies are detected and exposed. Hundreds of thousands of those in the middle and higher ranks of life, who approved of the first adoption of the present terrible measures, now begin to look at them with dread. "Where is this to end?" every one now asks. And, well may every one ask that question; for, if the people cannot be suffered to enjoy liberty now, when are they to be suffered to enjoy it? Cast your eyes which way you will, you see, that the only real reliance is upon the bayonet. The State Prisoners could not be tried at the Old Bailey as usual, because it was well known that the Lord Mayor, would not, without down-right force, have consented to the use of troops in the escorting of prisoners to and from a court of Justice. Troops we are told in these newspapers, were ready in words: "Hunt, your life is not safe great bodies, to come to Westminster "for a month, unless you are in a Hall, in case of necessity. What a situation to prove an alibi, for every disgraceful fact! Many thousands of moment of that life." He clenched troops, these papers tell me, were pre-

Bridge! To see the toll paid, I suppose! But, troops to assist the Judges in the execution of their duty! Troops, too, in all the Assize Towns, during What is now become the Circuit. of that famous principle of our laws which would suffer no troops to remain even near to an Assize Town, during the sitting of the Judges? What is now become of that justly boasted omnipotence of the laws, which was once the chief glory of England, as it now is the glory of America, where the Sheriff's wand is more than sufficient to protect the Judges, and to insure the due execution of the law upon every offender? But, in America there are no Boroughmongers; every man has a voice in choosing those who make the laws by which he is governed; and, therefore, every one but criminals entertains a reverence for the laws, and feels that he has an interest in upholding those by whom those laws are administered.

And, my friends, shall our beloved and renowned country never see such days again. If I thought so, I should little care how soon there was an end to my existence. Injustice such as now prevails in England, cannot be of long duration. It is a great struggle that is now going on, and when I look back into the history of my country, I can find the account of no great struggle, in which justice and liberty were not finally victorious. The Boroughmongers are beset with difficulties. The poor flimsy thing that prates about their finances, knows little more about the matter than a Jack Daw. The whole fabric of their affairs is rotten. They have armed against them all the best feelings of mankind;

and, for my part, I look for their overthrew with as much confidence as I look for to-morrow.

Let the people be patient. They cannot be killed in any great num. bers, unless they proceed to open war. fare, which I by all means deprecate. Let all those who wish to see the liberties of the country restored, aim at the destruction of no antient establish. ment. It is the usurpation of the Boroughmongers; and that usurpa. tion alone, with which we are at war. It is that which has reduced our country to such unexampled misery; it is that which has been the cause of the miseries of Europe as well as of Eng. land; it is that which has hatched all the plots, all the conspiracies, and that has aimed its fangs at the lives of so many innocent men. It was the Boroughmongers, who produced the long and bloody war in this country, where I now am. The ground of their present contest against us is precisely the same ground, and I trust that the result of the contest, now as well as then, will prove that freedom is immortal. The second passed sand

Before I conclude, I cannot help expressing my hope, that some step will now be taken to put safely upon record, the name and conduct of every man, high and low, who may have taken a part, or, who may yet take a part, or, at least, a conspicuous part, in any of these transactions, whether the part he has acted be good or bad. A book might be made, and the names arranged alphabetically, and it might be called, The People's Shepherd, Sid-Memorandum Book. mouth, Castles, Dowling, Stewart. Walter, Street, Stoddart, Wm. Giffore 8071

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ford, Southey, Garrow, Powis, Parson Baines, Lockhart the Brave, Wilberforce, Milton Lord, Elliot Wm. Castlereagh, Lambe, Ponsonby, Reynolds, Oliver, Cartwright Major, Hunt, Walker, Cobbett, Cochrane Lord; and so on. I would have all the names arranged, as I said before, alphabetically. And against each name I would have the prominent acts of the party mentioned. Every one who has made a speech for or against any of the Bills, should have his name introduced, the jet of his speech should be mentioned, very shortly, and the speech itself referred to. The names of all the persons in the lists of Minorities and Majorities upon any of the Bills, should be introduced, and the circumstance mentioned. The names of those who were upon the Secret Committees in both Houses; the names of all persons all over the country, who have taken any active part, good or bad. The names of all Magistrates and Clergymen who have taken a part, whether good or bad. The names of all the Judges that have been upon the Bench when trials under any of these acts have been going on. The names of all Jurors who may have been upon Juries where men have been tried at the prosecution of Shepherd, or any other subsequent Attorney General, after the passing of these Bills. 1 would recommend the stating, very briefly, the simple facts, against each name, without any observation at all, and, consequently, Without either praise or censure. All that we want, is, something to refresh our memory. We are a people too ant to forget. All the Lawyers should

be mentioned, who have aided and abetted the parties on either side. I have just given such heads as have occurred to me off-hand. Many others will suggest themselves to any gentleman of talent and industry who will undertake such a work. I would introduce the names of all the Boroughmongers, from Oldfield's Book, and mention the number of seats which he gives to each. Their names would naturally come in for other purposes, but the circumstance of Boroughmonger should be stated. When a name is mentioned, the Red Book, the Sinecure and Pension and Army List, should be looked into, to see how the party stands there, and to see how the relations of the party stand there. It should also be seen how the party is connected with the Bank of England or East India Company; or whether he has been a Contractor, or the like.

If any gentleman will undertake a work of this sort, and will execute it in a manner suitable to the intention, and put it at a moderate price, I will engage to subscribe for five hundred copies. It might be in a duodecimo form of about three or four hundred pages. It might be bound in sheep-skin at a very trifling expence, and, as the edition would be numerous, it might be sold by retail at about three shillings or three shillings and three pence. Very few words would be necessary against each name: for instance,

FOLKSTONE, LORD, moved for List of State Prisoners, such a day.

Wilber Force, Wm. spoke and voted for renewal of Power-of-Imprisonment Bill, such a day.

Sidmouth, Lo., moved the Power-

of-Imprisonment Bill, such a day.
Issued Circular such a day, &c.
Shepherd, Sir Samuel, Attorney
General, advised Sidmouth's Circular; presecuted Watson, &c.

In this sort of way, with as many particulars as room will allow of; but, any gentleman who will undertake the work, and is qualified for it, will be able to judge for himself what are the facts to be stated. There is no need of being very particular in collecting every fact against every name. Two or three striking facts against each name, with a reference to the Speech or to the account of the transaction, will be quite enough. But the price of the book is a main consideration, and it must not exceed the fourth part of a week's wages for a labouring man.

If I do not receive, in a few months, an intimation from some one that such a work is undertaken, I shall make one of my sons undertake it; for, forget these things we will not.

In health, with both my sons in good health, and made very happy by just having heard of the health of my family in England, and of the great kindness of numerous friends towards that family,

I remain, my Worthy Friends, Yeur's most sincerely,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PUBLISHER.

11th Oct. 1817.

SIR-In Mr. Cobbett's Register of this day, it is stated that he heard it

publicly declared that my Petition to the House of Lords in February last, was " presented against the judgment of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, though that Petition remained to be cited by every body as a most triumphant answer to the Report of the House of Lords." From this passage it must be inferred, that the advice or opinion of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT Was given on the propriety of presenting that Petition; whereas the fact is other. wise: Sir F. BURDETT never was con. sulted upon the subject; nor did he know of the intention of presenting the Petition, or even of its existence until after it had been placed in the hands of Earl Grosvenor who undertook to present it; and I afterwards heard Sir Francis Burdett express himself in terms of much warm approbation of the petition itself, as well as its valuable service in exposing the monstrous misrepresentations and unfounded assertions in the Report alluded to. As Mr. Cobbett, therefore, when he wrote the above paragraph, must have laboured under some misconception or mis-information, I trust you will, in justice to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, give all the publicity to these facts which, I feel satisfied, Mr. Cobbett himself would do, if personally present.

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I am, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

THOMAS CLEARY.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

Printed and Published by WM. JACKSON, No. 11, Newcastle Street, Strand, and sold wholesale and retail, at 192, Strand, London.